



Soviet Invasion Attacked in U.N.

January 6, 1980



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Following are Ambassador McHenry's statement before the U.N. Security Council in New York on January 6, 1980, and the text of the draft Security Council Resolution S/13729 of January 6 cosponsored by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Niger, the Philippines, and Zambia. When the Security Council voted on the draft resolution on January 7, it was vetoed by the Soviet Union and not adopted (a veto by a permanent member of the Council prevents adoption of a resolution). Members of the Council who voted in favor of the draft resolution were Bangladesh, China, France, Jamaica, Mexico, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States, and Zambia. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic voted against the resolution.

AMBASSADOR MCHENRY

The Security Council meets today, at the request of more than 50 members of the United Nations from all parts of the world and of all political persuasions. We meet to consider a matter of fundamental importance to world peace and to the principles on which the United Nations was founded.

A member state of this world organization has been invaded by massive contingents of troops from another state. Its government has been overthrown. Its leaders have been killed. Its people have been silenced. Its territory has been occupied.

The United States has joined in the call for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the Soviet Union's

blatant act of aggression against the territory and people of Afghanistan. We have done so because the action of the Soviet Union not only breaches the peace and violates international law, but also threatens the viability of the fundamental principles that underlie the U.N. Charter.

Sequence of Events

The representative of the Soviet Union has offered us a wide and confusing range of rationales for the so-called "limited" but surely deadly assistance foisted on the people of Afghanistan. Let us look at the chilling sequence of events connected with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

- During the first weeks of December, the Soviet Union secured Bagram airfield, north of the Afghan capital of Kabul, by sending the equivalent of an airborne regiment there. It also landed troops and equipment at the Kabul airport and, at the same time, mobilized enormous forces in areas bordering Afghanistan.
- On December 25 and 26, a massive Soviet airlift into Kabul took place. In over 200 flights, roughly 10,000 Soviet troops were transported into Afghanistan.
- On the evening of December 27, a special Soviet assault unit surrounded the presidential palace in Kabul. Afghan soldiers defending the palace were attacked and overcome, and President Amin was summarily executed. Simultaneously, Soviet troops attacked Afghan forces guarding radio Afghanistan and other key government installations and took them under control.

• The first announcement of the Soviet-engineered coup d'état, and the replacement of President Arbab by Babrak Karmal, who had been in exile in Eastern Europe, was made using frequencies purporting to be Radio Kabul. In fact, the transmissions from which these announcements were made were located in the Soviet Union. We know this because the real Radio Kabul continued normal transmissions from all over the world, in the different languages, and we first heard nothing at all of the report from Kabul confirming the coup d'état. The Soviet argument, however, that it is Afghanistan's right to broadcast in all languages is untrue.

● **Defensive tactics.** Several groups of Third Army soldiers, including the 101st Airborne Division, the 1st Infantry Division, and the 3rd Infantry Division, were ordered to defend perimeter positions. But a 1st Infantry Division unit was ordered to retreat.

• Intensified fighting in the eastern
Soviet-occupied zone of north-eastern
Afghanistan, where, near Khashkat, the
border of Turkmenistan and the
western-occupied zone of Herat, where
fighting between Soviet and Afghan
forces was reported. Much of the Turkmen
division proceeded to the Ruzi area.

- The Soviet Union now has up to 50,000 troops in Afghanistan. There are indications that other Soviet divisions are moving into the Soviet-Afghan border. Soviet forces have moved out to secure other key towns.

The Soviet Union has claimed that the leadership of Afghanistan requested Soviet military assistance. Which leadership? It is beyond doubt that President

Soviet-appointed successor, a man who was not even in Afghanistan at the time of the Soviet intervention but was, rather, in the Soviet Union."

The Afghan people and Afghan army units have resisted this Soviet aggression, despite the overwhelming military superiority of the invader. Fighting continues in several areas of the country.

The facts of the situation are clear over a period of months. The Soviet Union, carefully planned and prepared to invade Afghanistan, because it was satisfied with the degree of mismanagement of the Afghan government and undoubtedly, with its performance against Moslem insurgents in Afghanistan and long time spent struggling for their rights. The Soviet Union then carried out its military intervention, and as a result, the Soviet Union is the super power in the area. Therefore, the situation in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union overtook the Afghan government, and it has been overruled. The Soviet Union advanced it with a rapid battle.

U.S. Principles

The unjust intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the presence of an unwanted occupation force in that country is a gross and blatant violation of the most important principles of international law and of the U.N. Charter. What are these principles?

- That one state must not use force against the territorial integrity and political independence of another state;

human rights must be respected by all governments; and

- That states must settle international disputes by peaceful means.

The Soviet claim that it was acting in furtherance of collective self-defense under Article 51 of the Charter is a perversion of the Charter—an insult to the intelligence of the members of this Council. Article 51 can be interpreted only in armed attacks occurring against a Member of the United Nations. From where have come the armed attacks in Afghanistan? The only armed attacks on Afghanistan were the ones launched by the Soviet Union. No one can believe the claim that the Soviet Union was subjected to the Afghan attack, and yet intervened in Afghanistan in the fashion in which it did. It is a gross insult to the intelligence that President Carter offered the Soviet Union a "safe haven" after Article 51 of the Charter was invoked that was the pretext for its military expansion. If their right of self-defense had genuine bearing, it would have been a just, limited and short-lived action. Instead, it has been an unending and expanding one. The Soviet Union has refused to halt further to force of arms, and has continued to demand necessary aid in order to maintain its presence in international peace and security. That neither the Soviet Union, nor the puppet regime it has installed in power in Kabul, has given the required notice to the Security Council under article 51 is itself evidence of the hollowness of the Soviet Union's refuge behind the Charter.

Nor can one believe that the Soviet Union was requested by the Afghan Government to intervene in Afghanistan pursuant to the terms of the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation it entered into with that country in 1978. For the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan violates the Soviet Union's obligation, under the terms of the treaty, to respect Afghanistan's national sovereignty and to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs.

The U.N. Charter does not give the Soviet Union or any nation, the right to take military action in another country, or to replace its government because it disagrees with the policies or performance of the existing government. The fact is that the Soviet Union has flouted international law and has violated regional and international peace and stability. That the Soviet Union has done so with cold calculation and advance planning, in an area of the world which is now experiencing particular instability and tension, makes its act even more egregious and irresponsible. That the Soviet Union is taking military action against a deeply religious and fiercely independent people, who are

Article 51 of U.N. Charter

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Amin was still in office when the Soviet troops attacked the presidential palace and when he was executed. Are we to believe that President Amin invited Soviet troops to come into Afghanistan in order to oversee his own downfall and his own execution? Or was it the leadership of Babrak Karmal, President Amin's

- That a state must not intervene by force in the internal affairs of another state;

- That all states must respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

- That fundamental principles of

struggling for human and religious rights, underscores the brutality and illegality of its action.

The Need for U.N. Action

Accordingly, it remains for this Council to take action under the Charter to restore international peace and security.

A terrible misdeed has been done by Soviet airplanes. The ramifications of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan are enormous. For no state will tolerate against a neighbor and more power to the neighbor if the international community fails to pursue its responsibility for restoring international peace and security. This is the only right that remains to states in a world that has become the Soviet Empire.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon this Council and the members of it that they act in the face of an and pressing danger to the peace and security of the world. This dangerous threat of peace and security. It is incumbent upon this Council to make the weight of world law be felt.

We note that the Soviet Union has stated that it intends to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan at some point. We urge the Soviet Union to do so immediately and to allow the people of Afghanistan to conduct their own affairs, to choose their own system of government, to choose their own national leaders

without outside pressure and interference. Only in this way can the grave threat to international peace and security created by the Soviet Union be diminished and this most serious challenge to the basic principles of the United Nations be removed.

No state, not even a great power, can be allowed to ignore with impunity the responsibilities, obligations, and commitments it assumed when it became a member of the United Nations. The United States therefore expects all members of the Council to act in pursuance of the language of their Charter obligations.

DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

The Security Council,

1. Recalling that the Charter of the United Nations, and the Principles of the Security Council, in 1945 and 1946 and 1947,

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any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

1. Reaffirms again its conviction that the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every State is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, any violation of which on any pretext whatsoever is contrary to its aims and objects;

2. Declares that the recent attempt at intervention in Afghanistan, which is in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations;

3. Affirms that the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and political independence of Afghanistan must be maintained;

4. Calls for the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the progress made in the implementation of this resolution, within 100 days;

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